

[P. 5a]

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At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than Tulé river.¹⁵

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The condition of the country between the territory of the Wukchumni and Gawia on the Kaweah River and that of the tribes on Kings River was much as it is now (save for oases of agriculture made possible by modern irrigation), and the region seems to have been without native villages, the area probably being used only for hunting and seed-gathering.

On the 15th and 16th of May, Derby's party completed the crossing of the Kaweah sloughs (the "four creeks"), left the Cowees (Gawia) on the 17th and headed for Kings River.

[134]

... our course lay over a barren sandy plain, interspersed here and there with spots of vegetation, but in general a perfect contrast to the rich soil upon the river Francis [the Kaweah]. About 6 miles from the fifth creek we observed four isolated hills or buttes about six hundred feet high, two of them ranging nearly north and south, and about two miles apart. At the first of these is a constant spring of water.... We arrived upon the banks of the Kings River at about 5 P.M., having travelled 23.66 miles in a direct line across the plains.¹⁶

After a day spent on Kings River, probably at about the present site of Centerville, having ridden up the north bank about fifteen miles and having talked with one or two white men established at the ferry, Derby wrote as follows.

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[648]
[181]

The Kings River is the largest stream in the valley, at this time of spring floods about three hundred yards wide, with a rapid current and water cold as ice. It is about sixty miles in length, rising in two branches high up in the Sierra, which uniting about forty miles from its mouth flow in a southwest direction through the hills and valley, and empty into the Tache [Tulare] lake at its northeast extremity. Its banks are high and well timbered, and the country in its immediate vicinity is apparently fertile. It forms five sloughs like the Francis, but they are much wider and the country between them is swampy and difficult of access. There are no less than seventeen rancherias of Indians upon this river, numbering in all probably about three thousand, including those situated among the hills of the vicinity. Of these those living upon the lower part of the river are friendly and well disposed toward the whites; those high up among the hills are entirely ignorant, treacherous and mischievous. I was informed by Colonel Hampton, at the upper ferry, that the Choinimni [Choinimni] rancheria, situated in his

¹⁵Tbid., 257.

¹⁶Tbid., 258-260.

[P. 6a]

133 stage, the back water from the river had filled the innumerable sloughs extending from its banks in every direction across the valley, and I was informed...that the whole country to the north was overflowed...The point at which we encamped at the southern bend was about ten feet above the level of the stream and for two miles in extent north and south was not overflowed... At this time the river at this point was about two hundred yards wide and from ten to twenty feet in depth, but during the dry season it falls to from four to two and a half feet.²⁰

On the 26th, Derby and party started southward on the west side of the San Joaquin River and Sanjon de San José, skirting the western edge of Tulare Lake, bringing them again into Tachi Indian country, for they were near to completing their circuit of the great valley floor.

At a distance of twenty-two miles from the San Joaquin, we crossed the dry bed of a stream flowing during the rainy season from the Coast Range to the lake, upon the bank of which we found a few cottonwood trees and a little grass; but with this exception the whole valley south of the bend, between the Coast Range and the Taché [Tulare] lake, we found miserable, barren, sandy desert, with no vegetation save a few straggling artemesias, and no inhabitants but attenuated rabbits and gophers.

We encamped upon a slough connecting with the Sanjon upon the 28th...We encamped upon the shores of the lake on the 29th, having made 17.32 miles and on the 30th reached the débouché of the Pass of San Miguel...passing en route the rancheria of the Tinta Taches, situated upon the northwest extremity of the lake and containing about two hundred and fifty or three hundred inhabitants...We took up our line of march for Monterey by the same route that we had passed in coming out, upon the 31st, and arrived there without incident.²¹

Such was the San Joaquin Valley before American agricultural projects diverted, distributed, or absorbed the waters which filled the central basin to form the lakes and sloughs

²⁰Ibid., 261.

²¹Ibid., 262.

[P. 126 b] Wukchumni

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I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the walk I took (around the village), and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the rancharia I counted 358 double paces (pasos dobles) which makes 624 yards (varas), and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All (the houses) are of mats and willow branches. In front of the rancharia were guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 younger women.

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When I walked behind the Rancharia of Chischas I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests; while younger ones were grinding seeds on stones as is their custom.... Its (Chischal) people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in hiding, and later over one hundred visitors came from another rancharia.

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The visitors brought with them their own mats and blankets, shiny sticks, and gambling equipment. Games and gambling were frowned upon at the site of the ceremony, but during the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play shiny might do so if they went beyond shouting distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

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[532]

Events during the six days of the ceremony followed a definite program. Since the introduction of European culture, and perhaps owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the period has been equated with weekdays so that the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the first day or two (Monday and Tuesday) guests began arriving, and the bereaved families spent their time making the effigy dolls; on the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday) the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the burning of effigies; and on the seventh day (Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The native feeling was that the effigy burning and subsequent washing and celebrating all constituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is not illogical as the events continued from Saturday evening until Sunday evening without break for sleep or rest.

- 101 other. What is most likely is that a condition nearly of equilibrium
197 between the two stocks has been maintained for a long time. The
four or five Shoshonean divisions of quite diversified speech did
not all crowd westward over the watershed in any short period; nor
did the specialized Yokuts foothill dialects, no matter how much
effect we allow to topography and foreign association, spring up in
two or three centuries.

DESIGNATIONS OF THE STOCK.

- 101 The name "Yokuts" is taken from a native word for person or
people, appearing as *yokoch* and in similar forms in a number of the
dialects of the stock. The Spanish Tulareños, "people of the rush
marshes," coincides very closely with modern Yokuts in its ethnic
application. Mariposan is a book name, happily moribund, since
it is equally arbitrary and erroneous. The Indians of Mariposa
County are Miwok, not Yokuts. Foreign Indian names are few.
The Costanoans at San Juan Bautista called the Yokuts Yawisun;
the Chumash of Ventura, Chminimolich, "northerners"; the Mohave,
Kwalinyo-kosmachi, "tule sleep."

YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIA POPULATION.

- 161 The problem of the size of Yokuts' population is crucial for the
question of what the number of California Indians may have been,
but unfortunately it seems impossible of entirely accurate solution.

The prime factor of uncertainty is the size of the tribe. Two
hundred and fifty souls seems an overconservative estimate. There
may have been tribes that surpassed 500. On the other hand, this
latter figure appears to be excessive as an average. It is difficult to
say why, in the absence of any evidence bearing directly on the
point; but the nature of the country, the descriptions of travelers,
and the Indians' statements as to their great-grandfathers' customs,
somehow leave the impression that the Yokuts tribe did not so
very much exceed the usual California village community in popula-
tional strength. But again, the consistent adherence to the principle
that each tribe possessed its peculiar dialect warns against setting the
figure very low. Three to four hundred persons is perhaps the sound-
est estimate that can be made, and with 50 or nearly 50 tribes, this
would yield from 15,000 to 20,000 souls for the entire group.

- 161 Mission records are of little aid, for although there were Yokuts
177 at nearly all of the church establishments from San Luis Obispo
797 to San Francisco, and a number of tribal names can be recognized,
statistics are for the total at one mission at one time. San Antonio
may have harbored more Yokuts than Salinan neophytes when
secularization came, but the proportions of the two national ele-
ments are obscure. It also seems impossible to ascertain how ex-
haustively the Franciscans drew upon the tribes that they tapped,

or how long certain of these were under mission influence. There were Tachi brought across the mountains, but whether the whole tribe was moved or only a fraction, whether it remained a generation or only a few years, no one seems able to say. It is only known that the valley tribes from about the Fresno River northward were removed and missionized almost completely, and that their early virtual extinction was due to the effects of this process.

Nor do figures for the twentieth century population of the stock yield any approach to fixed conclusions for the eighteenth. The Federal census of 1910, the first that attempted to concern itself with such matters, reports only 533 Yokuts. The most widely spread stock in California, after the Shoshonean, to-day ranks twelfth in numbers. Not only Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun, but small localized groups like the Yurok, Karok, and Washo surpass the Yokuts. However much the estimate of original population be scaled down, it is evident that factors of most unfortunate potency have been at work. One such, and of proved fatality, is the concentration of mission life; but it is insufficient, for the southern and eastern Yokuts escaped it. It was apparently their open valley habitat, or at best hill abode, that crushed the Yokuts, through making them more readily and unmitigatedly accessible to the white man. In the mountains, civilization advanced slowly, or receded after the first rush of miners. The Indian shrank back, but had numberless corners left to himself. In the plains, the farmer followed hard on the pioneer, the soil was broken, fences began to stretch, and before long railroads ran their course and cities flourished. There was no way for the native to escape the full brunt of civilization; and it melted him away. In the Sacramento Valley the Plains Maidu and Wintun have vanished, compared with their fellows in the hills. Against 600 Sierra Miwok there are not two dozen of the plains division. More distinctively a lowland people than any of these, the Yokuts as a whole have been more reduced. All they have preserved better is the purity of their blood. The infrequency of half-breeds among them is noticeable; and the census that makes one-half or more of the Wintun, Maidu, and Miwok population mixed blood, credits at least three-fourths of the Yokuts with purity of strain.

If any doubt remains as to the strength of the factor of proximity to centers of Caucasian population, in rapidly diminishing Indian numbers, the Mono clinch the argument. Eastern neighbors of the Yokuts in the higher Sierra and the desert beyond it, they numbered at most a quarter or a third, perhaps not a fifth as many. To-day they are the largest group in California, and total nearly three souls for every living Yokuts.

The survivors, then, tell us nothing of the strength of their ancestors, because the wastage has been too excessive. The fragments are

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- 161 too small for an estimate of the original block. The remnant may be 2 per cent or 5. It does not help to answer the question.

161 This uncertainty weakens one of the potentially strongest lines of evidence that might bear on the problem of the ancient population of California. The Yokuts held a full tenth, possibly an eighth, of the area of the State. If we knew their numbers, a simple multiplication, corrected by an allowance for productivity of the soil under native exploitation, would yield a total that would be of value for controlling estimates derived by other methods. Groups of narrower range or numbers do not justify the application of such procedure; conditions are too unrepresentative. The Yurok, for instance, owned barely one-half of 1 per cent of the area of California, the Chemehuevi perhaps 5 per cent: ratios that, with what is known of their numbers, would give in the one case well over half a million and in the other much less than 50,000 for the State.

- 161 However, the almost lost opportunity may be essayed. Say 18,000 Yokuts in a ninth of California: 162,000 Indians once in the State. Or, taking the highest possible figures, 25,000 in a tenth, gives 250,000 as a maximum limit.

Then comes the correction. There undoubtedly were areas more densely populated than the average of the Yokuts habitat: the Santa Barbara Islands, stretches of the shore fronting them, certain valleys in the coast region, the district of the lower Klamath. There were probably as many Pomo on Clear Lake as Yokuts on much larger Tulare Lake. But these areas of concentration were small. It was apparently precisely the fact of their confinement that brought about the density. The additions to be made to the total on account of distinctly heavier population are therefore not very great in the aggregate.

The deductions to be made for a sinking of the Yokuts ratio in less favorable regions are more considerable. A full third of the State is thorough desert, substantially desert, high mountains, bare lava flow, or dense timber. In all these environments the population was of the slenderest. Generally such regions were not even inhabited except in oasislike spots; and that the maps in the present and other volumes show continuous territories rather than these significant oases is not because the entire areas have been thought to be inhabited, but because ignorance of precise conditions of habitation has rendered other delineation impracticable for most of the State. Everything east of the Sierra, its entire upper portion, a solid three-fourths of southern California, most of the northeastern angle of the State, and a number of tracts in the coast ranges, belong to these thinly populated regions, which loom broadly enough to bring down by at least a fourth any total computed from the rate prevailing in more favored regions.

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Let us balance this reduction by the smaller additions and say ¹⁶¹ that not a fourth but a fifth must be taken from the multiplicative total. That diminishes by 32,000 our apparently soundest estimate of 162,000 and gives for the native population of the State 130,000, or about eight times the present number of full bloods and mixed bloods combined. At any rate, there is a high degree of probability that the actual figure fell between 100,000 and 150,000. The maximum limit under the same process falls from 250,000 to 200,000, or less than almost all published estimates.

We have one check on the estimate of 300 to 400 souls per Yokuts tribe that underlies this total. In 1806 Moraga marched up half the length of the San Joaquin Valley and returned with the names of more than 20 groups and estimates of their numbers. Most of these must have been Yokuts, and about half of them can be identified.

YOKUTS.		YOKUTS OR OTHER.	
Nupchenche (Noytinte)-----	250	Chinegula-----	250
		Yunate-----	250
		Chamuasi-----	250
		Latelate-----	200
		Lachuo-----	200
Piscache (Pitkachi)-----	200		
Aycuyche (Aiticha)-----	60	Ecma-----	100
		Ehlaia-----	100
		Xayuaa-----	100
		Capatau-----	10
		Hual-----	400
Tunctache (Chunotachi)-----	250		
Notonto (Nutunutu)-----	300		
Do-----	100		
Telame (Telamni)-----	600		
Do-----	200		
Uholasi (Wowulasi)-----	100		
Eagueya (Gawia)-----	300		
Cohochs (Yokol?)-----	100		
Choynogue (Choinok)-----	300		
		Cutucha (Colteche)-----	400
Tahualanne (Yauelmani?)-----	200		
Coyehete (Koyeti)-----	400		
	3,360		2,260
		Total-----	5,620

Five thousand six hundred and twenty people in 23 groups yield an average of less than 250; or, if we divide the 3,360 known to have been Yokuts by 12, the result is 280 per tribe. The earliest observer's estimate is a fifth less than the figure of 300 to 400—say, 350—assumed above. There is thus every reason to believe that the total computed for California does not err on the side of parsimony.

FOREWORD

101 The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an
131 extraordinary combination.

• [161] This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of
[619] the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt
[262] on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand
[97] souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local
tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe definitely held its own delimited territory, there was constant visiting and return visiting, as nature according to season most bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aboriginal California. Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility. Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity, varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow; and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world, to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

142 F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one
181 of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

CHAPTER I

YOKUTS GEOGRAPHY

THE YOKUTS INDIANS

[10] Before the coming of the white man, almost the entire San
[13] Joaquin Valley, from the summit of the Coast Range to the upper reaches of the Sierra foothills, from approximately the Cosumne River to Tejon Canyon on the east, and from Martinez to Paleta on the west, was occupied by one of the most interesting North American races of primitive people to be studied by scientists.

● [16] These San Joaquin Valley Indians were at one time quite numerous, there probably being within their territory no less
[10] than twenty-five thousand persons, all closely related by blood and language. They are known to scientists as *Yokuts*, Yokuts being a word taken from their language and meaning persons, or people. The word is never used in a singular form.

Some tribes, including the *Tachi*, pronounce the word *Yo'-kotch*, but there is little other variation in the pronunciation throughout the entire valley area. They use Yokuts much as we use the word everybody. No Yokuts Indian knows himself as a Yokuts, but readily understands what is meant when it is explained to him how the term is used by scientists.

[619] There were probably at one time as many as fifty subtribes of the Yokuts group. Of those subtribes something is known about the boundaries and life of forty-four.

Because a vast area of the San Joaquin Valley was unoccupied by Indians when they were first studied, there has been some difference of opinion among scientists as to the exact blood and language groups that occupied this great basin. Some authorities have placed several language groups in the northern portion of the valley. But research done by this writer, as well as the many Yokuts tribe names distributed as far north as the Mokelumne and Cosumne rivers, indicates that all occupants of the San Joaquin Valley were Yokuts.

[174] The greater part of the information available concerning the Yokuts was obtained from a study of less than a dozen tribes. In fact, almost none of them had been studied and reported upon by scientists before the year 1870.

159 go horseback. He go up Los Baños Creek to hills. He go up river 'bout fifteen miles. There's no Indian anywhere. He go cross Fish Slough to California Ranch and see some Indian spear salmon in San Joaquin River. He talk to them Indian. They talk almost like his old mother and father. He understand everything they say. He tell them everything. He talk to my father. My father say, 'You come to our rancharia, live with us.' He live with us 'til he was old man, 'bout eighty-five maybe ninety years old. He die 'bout three days after first train go across railroad bridge on San Joaquin River. We all go down see that first train go across that bridge. When Sopahno see that he say, 'Now, I see everything. Now I'm gonna die.' And he did die after 'bout three days.

101 "When we go Gilroy, Sopahno tell me more Kahwatchwah names. They call Indian tribe to north *Ho-no-um'-ne*. Indian 159 to south they called *Tucuyu*. They go from Kawatchwah south 103 to *Apeche* (*Ah-pe'-che*) 'bout old Casa Blanca where Tranquility now. One their villages, name *Kahwahchu* [meaning 361 Grass Nut Place] was right where they had that Mexican town, Las Juntas, just where Fish Slough and San Joaquin River go together. White people put big dam there in San Joaquin River.

• [161] "When I little boy there just few them people left, maybe two, maybe three, live at Millerton with my people. Once, when 159 I 'bout six, seven years old they want to go back to Kahwahchu 769 to have one more big dance for dead people. They go. 'Bout fifteen, twenty our people go. My grandpa, Tomkit, he chief with Dumnas, he go. He help 'em make dance.. I go too.

"Old Chief *Tucuyu*, he go too. He been chief with that *Tucuyu* tribe before he go to missions. He want to see his old place once more. He live in mountains south of Bakersfield. He got place there he call *Tucuyu* too. When he go there from missions, he name it after his old people south Las Juntas.

[648] "We stay there one week and have dance for dead people. Mexicans there make trouble for us. They 'fraid we gonna maybe steal cattle, maybe hurt somebody. So we never go back again. *Tucuyu* big people once. They talk just like my 159 people. Once used to be Kahwatchwah village at San Luis 361 Ranch, where we stop all night when we drivin' mules freight team. It by San Luis ranch house. They call it *Hah-no'-mah*. Pacheco Pass they call *Lees-na'-yah*. One night we stop our mules team at Salt Slough [due east of the present town of

Before it was disturbed by white people, Reeder Hill extended diagonally across where the present Santa Fe passenger station is located from about the center of the court yard between the High School shops, to the intersection of Sixteenth and D streets. A branch of Kern River ran close by the west end of Reeder Hill. It actually came almost to the intersection of Truxtun Avenue and A streets. 361 172

When Colonel Thomas Baker came to the site of present Bakersfield in 1863, a large group of Yowlumne Indians lived in the two villages, one on each side of the river at the west end of Reeder Hill. The late Thomas A. Baker told me that his father, Colonel Thomas Baker, for whom the City of Bakersfield is named, often sent him down to Reeder Hill to bring Indians to work at their home. This log home stood near the intersection of Nineteenth and M streets. These Indians, the most willing often being men, made gardens, washed clothes, scrubbed floors, mended clothes, cut firewood, cared for children and did all sorts of housework. They were the first baby sitters in Bakersfield. [464] [357]

Other Yowlumne villages and camping sites were scattered about the plains near where Bakersfield is now located. But they were not permanent villages, as the Indians were forced to move when high water flooded the plains adjoining the sloughs and branches of Kern River, and also when the flow of Kern River switched from one slough or branch to another.

Soon after white people began to settle on the site of present Bakersfield, the Yowlumne began calling the locality [103] *Wawlu*, meaning Planting Place. This was because the white settlers began planting crops.

THE YOWLUMNE INDIANS

The *Yowlumne* were a typical Yokuts group. Their language was almost identical with that of nearby Yokuts tribes. They were, like the rest, a happy, friendly, dependable people. The first settlers on lower Kern River found it perfectly safe to take them into their pioneer homes to perform housework of all kinds. This was true of both men and women, for often the Yowlumne men did washing, dishwashing and the scrubbing of floors as willingly as did the women. [462]

At this time, 1949, there are two full-blood Yowlumne Indians still living. This will come as a surprise to some readers, 161 ●



Wahumchah and his sister, Ihalut, last surviving full-bloods of the Yowlumne Yokuts tribe. Both were born at the village of *Wawcoye* (Waw-coy'-e) on the south bank of Kern River one-half mile below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. Wahumchah is eighty-six years of age and Ihalut ninety.

because they have been generally thought to have been extinct since about 1920.

One of the surviving Yowlumne is *Wahumchah* (Wah-hum'-chah) known to white people living in and around Woodlake and Visalia in Tulare County as Henry Lawrence. Wahumchah is now 86 years of age.

The second surviving full-blood Yowlumne is *I-hal'-ut*, known to her neighbors at Tule River Indian Reservation as Mrs. Mary Santiago. She is a full sister of Wahumchah and is 90 years of age. Both of these people were born at the old Yowlumne Indian village of *Wawcoye* on the south side of Kern River between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. When these two Yowlumne are gone, extinction will have been the fate of the tribe of Yokuts which once occupied the territory surrounding Bakersfield.

It is the nature of the Yokuts to look to someone for counsel and advise. In the old days the chief of the tribe was the person who acted in the capacity of general advisor. It is believed that he held his position through his natural ability and through the tendency of the majority of the people around him to come to him for advice. 181

Members of the tribe were inclined to wait for the chief to determine when to gather the various foodstuffs, and when to move from one seasonal location to another. It is said by some pioneers that the chief often told his people where to build their houses, and sometimes when and whom to marry. If the foregoing describes conditions in general, the Indians, however voluntarily, were too much ruled.

Unless suggestions are made to the ordinary Indian, he is unable to meet a new situation, one to which he is a stranger and untrained, but he is quick to act upon the suggestion of anyone whose advice he values. This is probably not so true of the families of chiefs or headmen, who commonly inter-married between tribes. They were more versatile, had more initiative, and were better able to adjust themselves to the great upheaval caused by the coming of the white man.

Because of this need of leadership Indians have been accused of being lazy. According to the standard of the white man this is in many cases quite true. But I have known many exceptions, especially where Indians have had the guidance of dependable and well meaning whites. The Indian sees no earthly use for a large percentage of the things white people do, so, when left to himself, he doesn't do them.

About the disappearance of the Indian there is much to be said. Since the first great blow delivered by the white man, which took from the Indian his water, game and land and besieged him with epidemics of disease and with poverty, the Indian has not been disappearing with any great rapidity. The foregoing sketches have shown that there are several hundred Indians left along the Sierra foothills. Most of these are not full-bloods and, of course, many are not Yokuts. 165

It is true that the dissipating type of Indian is disappearing, in fact he always has been. With few exceptions, the more sober, industrious individuals are surviving. The majority of them are self sustaining and are raising families. 181

It is believed that several generations will pass before all of the full-blood Yokuts Indians are gone. This is due to two

[Text continues on p. 279]

things: the fact that they are adjusting themselves to the white man's way of living, and that they are anxious to keep their blood pure. [18]

Those full-blood members of the *Wuckchumne* tribe, who number more than twenty, are almost entirely independent. They have never gone to a reservation and have accepted practically no government aid of any sort. They live in the open air under the spreading oaks along the Kaweah River, much as they always did. This is the reason that they have survived. [16]

One of the common criticisms of Indians is that they are dirty. The writer has interviewed more than two hundred early white pioneers concerning the Yokuts Indians. In addition he has talked to more than twenty Indians who remembered the times before the white man came. We are assured by all persons who knew the Indians before their old method of living was entirely broken up, that almost without exception, every man, woman and child in an Indian village had bathed in the nearby stream before or shortly after sunrise every day of the year. We are told that during the summer months, young people, and often grown people, were in the water from ten to forty times during the day. [18] 515

Padre Francisco Garces, first recorded white man to travel among the Yowlumne Yokuts, thrice took occasion to mention the fact that those Indians were cleanly and bathed often. He wrote about their use of the sweat house: "The hour of entertaining therein is either during the morning, or during the evening. When once the persons are inside, they kindle a fire; and as there is little ventilation, they cease not with the heat and the smoke to cry out and to sweat until the earth grows wet; when indeed they can endure no more they climb out by means of their ladder of sticks and throw themselves into the river. This is without doubt the cause of these people being so clean; but though of good habit of body they are meager and quite tender footed." On White River Garces wrote: "—these Indians travel little, because they bathe much, and do not have any covering on the feet." [484]

If the many statements concerning these practices are true, then at least the question of personal cleanliness among the Indians as compared to white settlers is settled, because this frequency of bathing is without question not true of the white people who overthrew them. We know that even the mythical universal Saturday night bath was not indulged in by some

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Yokuts and Western Mono peoples of the San Joaquin valley were grouped in units justifiably called tribes. A tribe comprised several families living in villages, and possessing one to three chiefs, a distinctive dialect, and name. The tribal name such as Chunut, Chukehansi, Yandanehi, Wobonuch, Patwisha, etc., applied to the dialectic unit as a whole. A child belonged to the tribe of his father regardless of the place of his birth. The persons of any tribe often referred to themselves or each other by this name, as, "I am Chunut," or "She is Chukehansi," though they recognized their generic linguistic bond. Villages had names but it is doubtful that the tribal name had any reference to these sites.⁶ 101 619 [611]

The villages were permanent but were dwelt in mostly during the winter months. From about May to September families moved out into summer camps for seed gathering. Often two or three families would move together for the summer, usually going year after year to the same spot. It was not compulsory to leave the village during the summer: often old people stayed there the year round; sick people were left behind with some one in attendance. The summer camping out, though habitual, was entirely a matter of convenience. 361 [221]

Although there were no definite tribal boundaries, the large village sites of each were regarded respectively as the seat of the tribe. Hunting, and seed and acorn gathering, were confined to tribal areas though nothing more definite than a hilltop, a creek, or a cluster of trees determined their limits. Adjacent tribes between whom relations were friendly often asked permission to come onto each other's territory to obtain food if there was a shortage within their own bounds. The property sense in regard to land was so undeveloped that there was little formality regarding such invasions, and they rarely if ever resulted in hostilities. 423

The size of the area regarded as its own by any one tribe probably varied according to the number of people in it. What the actual numbers were for any Yokuts or Mono tribe in ancient times it is difficult to conjecture. Moraga's figures showing populations ranging from sixty Aiticha to eight hundred Telamni are suggestive even if inaccurate.⁶ Every tribe had at least one major village site, several 161 361

⁶ Kroeber, Handbook, 475.

⁶ Given by Kroeber, Handbook, 491.

animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty. 136

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry plains west of the lake.⁴ Each settlement consisted of one, and in most cases probably several, long wedgeshaped houses covered with tule mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.⁵ Kroeber cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.⁶ Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi villages contain several hundred people.⁷ 361 [342] [592] [161] [114]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered difficulties, for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin as much as 4 miles.⁸ According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500 square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshy and "an area in which man could not have resided permanently."⁹ Consequently, the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and 513 [342]

⁴ GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.

⁵ LATTA, p. 90.

⁶ KROEBER, p. 491.

⁷ GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.

⁸ LATTA, p. 30.

⁹ GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11.

12: Cook

161

NS29 Yokuts NS29

[For information on population statistics, see category 116, pp. 31A-31C, 33B-34B, 36B-37A, 38A-48A, 49B-64A, 67A-68B, and 70A-71B. --Analyst]

[P. 39A]

MIWOK NS16
WESTERN MOTO NS25

6,255, an average of 232 per tribe. To allow for the nontribal and unrecognizable names on Ryer's lists this value may be arbitrarily reduced to 300. Ryer mentions in the Fresno-San Joaquin area the following: Chowchilla, Chukchansi, Heuchi, Pitkachi, Goshowsu, Dumna, Dalinchi, Pohinichi (Miwok), and Pongisa (Mono). The Pohinichi should be excluded since they have already been considered in connection with the southern Miwok. The other nine, reckoned at 200 persons per tribe, would represent an aggregate of 1,800. However, Kroeber (1925, p. 481, and map, p. 536) shows four other Yokuts subdivisions within the same territory: Hoyima, Wakichi, Kechayi, and Tolichi. Although Ryer may have included these under other tribal names they perhaps ought to be included here, thus making the total 2,600.

For villages there are two sets of sources. The first pertains primarily to the Yokuts, covers a territory substantially coterminous with that seen by the contemporary observers mentioned above, and is found in the work of Kroeber (1925), Gayton (1948), and Latta (1949). The second set of villages is confined to the Mono and is derived from Gifford (1932) and Merriam.

The first group of authors list villages for the 13 tribes mentioned in the preceding discussion, 49 in all or an average of 3.77 per tribe. With respect to size there is reason to believe that the settlements in this area, even in the early 1850's, were considerably larger than those described by Gifford for the central Miwok. The estimate of Adam Johnston of an average of 135 per rancheria on the lower Tuolumne has already been mentioned. H. W. Wessels in 1853 wrote that the Pitkachi plus the Noo-to-ah, a Mono group, had 500 to 600 souls (Wessels, 1857). Half of these, or 300, may have been Pitkachi, a tribe for which Kroeber lists 3 villages. This would have meant 100 per village. Merriam credits Savage with the statement that in 1851 the Kechayi had 1,000 people. Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta list 6 different villages for this tribe or, according to Savage's figures, 167 persons per village. Ryer's total of 2,600 prorated among 49 villages, would yield 53 persons each. Although it is probable that the values computed from the statements of Johnston, Wessels, and Savage are too high, that derived from Ryer may be somewhat too low. An intermediate figure of 70 inhabitants per village for the valley and lower foothills would perhaps come as close as we can get to the truth. This, with 49 villages, gives 3,430, somewhat more than the 2,633 cited as the average of the general estimates.

Inhabiting the higher foothills and extending to the upper limit of habitation from the San Joaquin to the Kaweah rivers were the Western Mono. This tribe lived just above the Yokuts and at points was in very close association with them. As a whole the Western Mono constitute a racial and ecological unit and as such it is probably preferable to consider them as a single population entity than to segregate them by rivers, as has been done for the Miwok and the Yokuts. It will be necessary, therefore, to digress for this purpose and subsequently return to the discussion.

The classic ethnographic work on the tribe, and the only work which contains any numerical data, is that of Gifford (1932) on the North Fork division of the Mono. This is supplemented by Merriam's manuscript entitled "Monache Tribes, Bands, and Villages." Gifford gives the names (text and map) of 67 North Fork villages, or, as he prefers to call them, hamlets. These were quite unlike either those of the Miwok or of the valley Yokuts, being very much smaller and subject to an extraordinary

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161 for the North Fork Mono, the inhabitants must have
127 numbered 260. One of the rancherias seen by Derby was
Cho-e-mime which had 70 "warriors." reckoning the
"warriors" as half the males the population would have
been 280. Derby says the village of Notonto (of the tribe
Nutunutu on the south bank of the lower Kings) had 300
inhabitants. These places were of course relatively
large and important and do not represent the general
average. However, the village of Notonto must have
reached fully 150 persons.

Y
*161
[36] Apart from the Mono, the tribes located on the Kings
River were all Yokuts, as follows: Aiticha, Apiachi,
Wimilchi, Nutunutu, Wechihit, Toihichi, Chukomina,
and Choinimni. For these the modern ethnographers
Kroeber, Gayton, Latta, and Stewart have been able to
locate and identify 25 villages inhabited during the youth
of informants. Since this covers a somewhat larger terri-
tory than was seen by Derby, the correspondence in num-
ber of rancherias is reasonably close. At 150 persons
per village the population would be 3,750. If we add 1,700
for the Kings River Mono, the total is 5,450. However,
there may have been some overlap, so this figure may
be reduced to 5,000. It should be noted that the area em-
braced within this estimate includes the Kings River
basin as a whole, together with that of all its affluents.

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127 The Kaweah River from Lemon Cove to the town of
Tulare diverges to form a delta, which originally con-
tained a very large native population. At the time of the
American occupation there had occurred a material re-
duction, which was accelerated by the fact that the region
provided excellent farming land for the entering Ameri-
cans. Hence the value for the population in 1850-1853
must be relatively low in comparison with preceding
decades. In May, 1851, according to G. W. Barbour
(1853, pp. 253-255) there were 7 tribes on the Kaweah,
and 1,200 people came to treat with the commissioners.
These tribes included the following: Chunut, Choinok,
Wolasi, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchumni. Of
these, the first, the Chunut, inhabited the shore of Lake
Tulare and should not be included as a Kaweah River
tribe. The estimated population of the remainder would,
therefore, be approximately 1,000, if the figure of the
commissioners is to be taken without qualification.

With respect to the individual tribes there are a few
scattered bits of information. Derby (1852) mentions
three rancherias or bands in the area: Cowees (Gawia)
with 200 people, Thulime (Telamni) with 65 men, or
roughly 200 people, and Heame-a-tahs (Telamni) with
300 people. Merriam in his "Yokuts List" cites an in-
formant who said that the Wukchumni "used to number"
5,000 and occupied the valley now called Lemon Cove
and up and down the Kaweah River. Clearly this is an
extreme overestimate, unless the informant was re-
ferring to the period prior to 1800. Finally Merriam
cites a letter by Lt. N. H. McLean, which states that
the "Four Creeks Country" included the "Cahwaha,
Okula, Cholimux, Wicktrunnees, Talumnie" and in 1853
had not over 1,200 souls.⁴

It thus appears quite evident that the six Yokuts tribes,
except perhaps the Wukchumni, had no more than 200
persons apiece during the era under consideration. From
modern informants Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta have ob-
tained for the Choinok, Gawia, Telamni, Yokod, and
Wolasi collectively the names of only 8 villages. Assum-
ing the Kings River value of 150 persons per village,

⁴ Merriam's manuscript entitled "Yokuts List" mentions a report from
Lt. N. H. McLean, dated July 13, 1853, to B. J. Womels, on file in "Old
Files Division," Adjutant General's Office, Washington, DC. NS29. As far
as I am aware, this letter has never been quoted elsewhere.

TACHI YOKUTS MUSIC

James Hatch

The bulk of the music to which this paper is devoted was recorded at three different dates by different observers. The first recordings were made by Professor A. L. Kroeber before 1904 on gramophone cylinders at the Lemoore Santa Rosa Yokuts reservation. The second series was made by a schoolteacher, Mrs. Margaret Cumin of Hanford, on disks at Hanford in the summer of 1940. The last and largest series was made by the writer in the latter part of 1957, also at Lemoore.

A number of points were to be covered in the selection of this particular group for study. First, the cylinder recordings which Professor Kroeber made in 1903 were Tachi rather than any of a number of other Yokuts groups. This added another dimension to the comparison of the stylistic features of the Yokuts music to the rest of California Indian music. The point was to find out if the music of this San Joaquin Valley group was stylistically more akin to that of northern California groups, such as the tribes of the Sacramento River Valley or to, say, that of coastal groups. Two contrasting styles were used for comparison, primarily because of their distinctive qualities and also because of their relative proximity.

The other main point concerned the writing of the music. A number of writers have referred to the possibility that variation in music might be structured, or rather, that there is an implicit "direction" to music and that variations can be plotted in a scheme similar to phonetics. That is, in any given musical pattern one might have a certain amount of variability and that variability might or might not be significant to the native. This proposition is almost self-evident; different singers can vary the features of any popular song so that the song will be either "better", "worse" or just "different". The changes which are not recognized as changes are also significant here. The problem is whether or not selection can be rigorous and still not alter the basic framework of the music.

The Tachi Yokuts were distributed over an area roughly north of Tulare Lake west to the Mount Diablo section of the coast range. They were a large and warlike group, possibly reaching a population of 500. The Yokuts language is classified with Miwok, Maidu, Wintun, and Costanoan as part of the Penutian superstock. Further ethnographic material on the Yokuts can be found in Kroeber (1907) and Gayton (1948).

The remnants of the Tachi spend a large part of the year on the Santa Rosa reservation near Lemoore. The number of families is constantly fluctuating and the population ranges from two or three dozen families to only two or three, depending upon the season. The housing consists of about three dozen shacks in extremely poor repair. The reservation is located on an alkali flat unsuitable for either agriculture or animal husbandry. The Tachis work at a variety of jobs. No one from the reservation has been known